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ABRAHAM, JOB AND THE BOOK OF *JUBILEES*: THE
INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIP OF GENESIS 22:1–19,
JOB 1:1–2:13 AND *JUBILEES* 17:15–18:19

Jacques van Ruiten

1. *Abraham and Job*

The Old Testament does not make an explicit comparison between the figures of Abraham and Job. In the book of Ezekiel, the righteousness of Job is compared to that of Noah and Daniel (Ezek 14:12, 20).¹ Ben Sira refers to Job in the context of a reference to Ezekiel and the twelve prophets, and he reflects on what Ezekiel has to say about Job (cf. Ben Sira 49:9). Only in the *Testament of Abraham* is Job for the first time explicitly related to Abraham. The archangel Michael announced Abraham's death to him. Abraham was not willing to follow him, however. The archangel then said to God: 'Lord Almighty, thus he speaks, and I refrain from touching him, because from the beginning he has been your friend and he did everything which is pleasing before you. And there is no man like unto him on earth, not even Job, the wondrous man. And for this reason I refrain from touching him. Command, then, immortal king, what is to be done' (*Test. of Abr.* 15:14–15).² According to Delcor, the *Testament of Abraham* should be seen as a polemic against the image of Job that is painted in the *Testament of Job*.³ The author of the *Testament of Abraham* borrows the virtuous image of Job from the *Testament of Job* and transfers it to Abraham.⁴

¹ For a comparison of Ezek 14:12–23 with Job 1:1–2:10; 42:7–17, see U. Berges, 'Der Ijobrahmen (Ijob 1,1–2,10; 42,7–17). Theologische Versuche angesichts unschuldigen Leidens', *BZ* 39 (1995) 225–245 (esp. 229–231). Daniel is mostly identified with the hero from Ugaritic Epos of Aqhat, see: M. Noth, 'Noah, Daniel und Job in Ezechiel XIV', *VT* 1 (1951) 251–260; H.P. Müller, 'Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels', *UF* 1 (1969) 79–94; J. Day, 'The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel', *VT* 30 (1980) 174–184.

² The translation is taken from E.P. Sanders, 'Testament of Abraham', in: J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, I* (London 1983), 892.

³ M. Delcor, *Le Testament d'Abraham. Introduction, traduction du text grec et commentaire de la recension grecque longue*, Leiden 1973, 76.

⁴ J. Weinberg, 'Job versus Abraham. The Quest for the Perfect God-Fearer in

Whereas Job's rank is to some extent reduced in the *Testament of Abraham*, Rabbi, the composer of the Mishnah, puts him on the same level as Abraham.⁵ In *TSotah* 6:1, the term 'God-fearing' is used both in relation to Job and to Abraham, and in both cases it is derived from love: '... Rabbi says: *God-fearing* is stated with reference to Abraham (Gen 22:12) and *God-fearing* is said with reference to Job (Job 1:1). Just as *God-fearing* stated with reference to Abraham means that Abraham did what he did out of love, so *God-fearing* stated with reference to Job means that Job did what he did out of love for God. And all the rest of the murmuring stated in that passage is stated only out of the events'.⁶ According to *BT Sotah* 31a, this statement is even older and from Rabbi Meir, the teacher of Rabbi.⁷

In *BT Baba Batra* 15b–16b, one can find several statements regarding the apposition of Abraham and Job. Sometimes Job is the one who is preferred, at other times Abraham. God's enquiry as to Satan's whereabouts receive a response from Satan that plays on the biblical statement 'From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it' (Job 1:7): 'I have traversed the whole world and found none so faithful as thy servant Abraham. For Thou didst say to him: "Arise, walk through the land to the length and the breadth of it, for to thee I will give it" (Gen 13:17), and even so, when he was unable to find any place to bury Sarah [until he bought a site for four hundred shekels of silver] he did not complain against thy ways. "Then the Lord said to Satan: Have you considered my servant Job for there is none like him on earth?"' (Job 1:8).⁸ Rabbi

Rabbinic Tradition', in: W.A.M. Beuken (ed.), *The Book of Job* (BETL, CXIV), Leuven 1994, 281–296 (esp. 291).

⁵ On rabbinic views about Job, see: I. Wiernikowski, *Das Buch Hiob nach der Auffassung der rabbinischen Litteratur in den ersten fünf nachchristlichen Jahrhunderten*, Breslau 1902; L. Ginzberg (ed.), *The Legends of the Jews*, V, Philadelphia 1955, 381–390; on the relationship between Job and Abraham, see A. Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century* (London 1929; repr. 1967), 130–150; J. Weinberg, 'Job versus Abraham', 281–296.

⁶ The translation is from J. Neusner, *The Tosefta. Nashim (The Order of Women)*, New York 1979, 170.

⁷ The relevant passage of *BT Sotah* 31a, the gemara on *MSotah* 5:5, runs as follows: 'It was taught, Rabbi Meir said: Abraham is described as God-fearing, and Job is too: just as Abraham's faith stemmed from his love of God so did Job's. But how do we know this of Abraham himself? Because it is written: "The seed of Abraham who loved me" (Isa 41:8)'. In *PT Sotah* 5 (20d) proofs are given for the fact that Job is a true lover of God, but no comparison with Abraham is found here.

⁸ This translation is according to I.W. Slotki, 'Baba Bathra', in I. Epstein (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Nezikin, II*, 76–77.

Yohanan, a third-century Palestinian Amora, appreciates Job even more. He proclaims Job's superiority: 'Said R. Yohanan: Greater praise is accorded to Job than to Abraham. For of Abraham it is written 'For now I know that thou fearest God (Gen 22:12), whereas of Job it is written 'That man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil (Job 1:1)'. Job fears God right from the beginning, Abraham only after the trial of the offering of Isaac.⁹ Raba and Abaye, two Babylonian Amora from the 4th century, oppose this positive view of Job. They stress his negative side: 'Raba then compares Job to Abraham unfavourably with regard to his desire for women. Job congratulates himself on not hankering after other people's wives (Job 31:9), but Abraham did not even look at his own wife. 'Rab said: Dust should be placed in the mouth of Job; he refrained from looking at other men's wives. Abraham did not even look at his own, as it is written: 'Behold now I know that thou art a fair woman to look upon (Gen 12:11), which shows that up to then he did not know'.¹⁰ Then follows a more serious accusation, i.e., Job denied the resurrection of the dead (cf. Job 7:9). In two late midrashim, Job is considered the lesser because of his aggressive attitude: 'R. Levi said: Two men said the same thing, viz. Abraham and Job. Abraham: That be far from thee, to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked (Gen 18:25). Job: It is all one—therefore I say: He destroyeth the innocent with the wicked (Job 9:22). Yet Abraham was rewarded for it, while Job was punished for it! The reason is because Abraham said it in confirmation, while Job said it in cavil: It is all one!' (*GenR* 49:9).¹¹ In *PesR* 47:3, it is said that if Job had stood up to his sufferings with no cry of resentment, God would have caused Job's name to be linked with his, as God's name is linked with the names of the Patriarchs. It is stated in the name of R. Hanina bar Papa: 'Had he not raised a cry, even as now we say in the *Tefilla* "God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob", we would also be saying "and God of Job".¹² According to Weinberg, the clue to understanding the diverse appre-

⁹ So Weinberg, 'Job', 293.

¹⁰ Slotki, 'Baba Bathra', 80.

¹¹ For the translation, see H. Freedman, *The Midrash Rabbah. I. Genesis*, London 1977, 428.

¹² The translation is taken from W.G. Braude (ed.), *Pesikta Rabbati. Discourses for Feasts, Fasts, and Special Sabbaths, II*, New Haven 1968, 802. (ed. Friedman, pp. 189b–190a).

ciation of Job and Abraham lies not so much in understanding the various Biblical passages, but rather in examining the communication of religious ideals in specific historical situations—whereby both Job and Abraham can serve as examples.¹³

2. *The Aqedah (Genesis 22:1–19) and the Framework Story of the Book of Job (Job 1:1–2:13, 42:10–17)*

In addition, contemporary exegesis regularly refers to the resemblance between Abraham and Job. People often compare Gen 22:1–19, the test of Abraham,—namely, the offering of his most beloved son, Isaac—with the framework story of the book of Job (Job 1:1–2:13; 42:7–17), in which the sufferings of Job are described, i.e., the loss of all his property, the loss of his children, and his own physical harm¹⁴ According to Westermann, the resemblance between Gen 22:1–19 and the framework story of the book of Job supports a later date for Gen 22:1–19. The test of the individual is a relatively late development in the religion of Israel and early Judaism, and this is proved by the fact that ‘die sachliche nächste Parallele zu Gen 22,1, der Hiobprolog, auch ein später Text ist’.¹⁵ When one considers that the texts closely parallel one another, the opinion that one of the texts has influenced the other is not far-fetched.¹⁶ The differences

¹³ Weinberg, ‘Job’, 296 (cf. 289).

¹⁴ G. von Rad, *Das erste Buch Mose Genesis* (ATD 2–4), Göttingen 1972⁹, 206; W. Zimmerli, *1 Mose 12–25 Abraham* (ZBKAT 1.2), Zürich 1976, 110–111; B. Jacob, *The First Book of the Bible Genesis. His Commentary Abridged, Edited and Translated by E.I. Jacob and W. Jacob*, New York 1974, 142; W.H. Gispen, *Genesis II. Genesis 11:27–25:11* (COT), Kampen 1979, 230–231; G. von Rad, *Das Opfer des Abraham*, München 1971, 24; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (BKAT I/2), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981, 436; (Sarna 1989, 393); G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* (WBC 2), Dallas 1994, 110; R.W.L. Moberly, *Genesis 12–50* (Old Testament Guides), Sheffield 1995² (1992), 45.

¹⁵ Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, pp. 435–436; zie ook: T. Veijola, ‘Das Opfer des Abraham—Paradigma des Glaubens aus dem nachexilischen Zeitalter’, *ΣThK* 85 (1988) 129–164 (esp. 150–151): ‘Auch einzelne Termini und Motive deuten auf eine spätere Entstehungszeit hin. . . . Eine Parallele, die sachlich am nächsten kommt, bietet in diesem Fall die nachexilische Rahmenerzählung des Buches Ijob, wo in Hi 1–2 das Hauptthema gerade die Prüfung eines Frommen ist. . . .’.

¹⁶ J.C. VanderKam, ‘The Aqedah, Jubilees and Pseudojubilees’, in: C.A. Evans – S. Talmon (eds), *The Quest for Context and Meaning. Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (BIS 28), Leiden 1997, 241–262 (esp. 249, note 17: ‘S. Talmon has written to me that Job, in the biblical book, is modeled on the figure of Abraham’).

between the texts have also been pointed out, but these differences do not negate the opinion that the texts are very close to one another, with regard to both form and content.¹⁷ Hence, even if there is no explicit comparison between Abraham and Job in either the Old Testament or Early Jewish literature prior to the *Testament of Abraham*, this does not mean that they are not related to each other implicitly.

Furthermore, some people have pointed to the fact that in the book of *Jubilees*, Abraham and Job are also related to each other. According to some, the influence of Job 1:1–2:13 can probably be discerned in *Jub* 17:15–18:19, one of the oldest rewritings of Gen 22:1–19. This passage is called a ‘reading of Genesis 22 in the light of Job 1’.¹⁸ Kister writes: ‘Apparently the situation in *Jubilees* is shaped by the opening scene of the book of Job’. He even calls *Jub* 17:15–18:1 a midrash on the Job verses.¹⁹ Especially the beginning of the passage (*Jub* 17:15–18), in which the Prince of Mastema is introduced, is seen as the most evident influence of Job 1–2: ‘On notera aussi l’intervention de Mastéma à propos du sacrifice d’Isaac; le prince des démons, en non plus Dieu lui-même, est responsable de l’épreuve imposée à Abraham; cet épisode rappelle le début de l’histoire de Job (Job 1s)’.²⁰ VanderKam also stresses the influence of Job on the rewriting of Genesis 22 in *Jubilees*: ‘We recognise the influence of Job 1–2 not only from the title of the malicious individual who challenges God to try Abraham—the Prince (of) Mastema, reflecting Job’s *הַשָּׂטָן*—but also from the nature of the conversation that takes place between him and God. Here we discover that Abraham’s virtues were being reported in heaven: he was faithful, loved by the Lord, and successful in all trials. The sorts of virtues that Abraham is said to possess are not the very same but are similar to those the deity specifies for Job who is blameless, unique, fears God, and turns

¹⁷ An explicit negation of this opinion can be found in H.-D. Neef, *Die Prüfung Abrahams. Eine exegetisch-theologische Studie zu Gen 22,1–19* (Arbeiten zur Theologie, 90; Stuttgart 1998), 79.

¹⁸ Moberly, *Genesis*, pp. 91–92

¹⁹ M. Kister, ‘Observations on Aspects of Exegesis, Tradition, and Theology in Midrash, Pseudepigrapha, and Other Jewish Writings’, in: J. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing Threads. Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBLEJL 6), Atlanta 1994, 1–34 (esp. 10).

²⁰ R. Martin-Achard, 1969, 122. So also Veijola: ‘In der Nacherzählung von Gen 22,1–19 durch *Jub* 17,15–18,19 wird die Initiative der Prüfung auf Mastema, den Fürsten der Dämonen, verlegt, was die früh empfundene Verwandtschaft mit dem Ijobprolog zeigt’. See Veijola, ‘Opfer’, 151, note 127.

aside from evil (e.g. Job 1:8).²¹ If this supposition is correct, then this would be the first instance in which Abraham and Job are related to each other.

In the following section, I will explore the intertextual relationship between Gen 22:1–19, Job 1:1–2:13; 42:10–17, and *Jub* 17:15–18:19. I have a twofold question in mind. First, is there a dependency between Gen 22:1–19 and Job 1:1–2:13 in one way or another? Second, could Job 1:1–2:13 have functioned as intermediary between Gen 22:1–19 and *Jub* 17:15–18:19? In order to be able to answer these questions I will first compare Gen 22:1–19 and Job 1:1–2:13; 42:10–17, then I will compare Gen 22:1–19 and *Jub* 17:15–18:19. In order to respond to the question regarding the dependency between Gen 22:1–19 and the framework story of the Book of Job, I will compare both stories with regard to their narrative technique, the profile of the protagonists, the test, the reaction of the protagonists, and the blessing after the trial.

a. *Narrative Technique*

According to some exegetes, Gen 22:1–19 and Job 1:1–2:13 display similar narrative techniques. E.g., Zimmerli writes: ‘In einer Weise die an 1.Mose 18,1 erinnert, stellt der Erzähler gleich an den Anfang die Mitteilung dessen, worum es in der ganzen Erzählung [= Gen 22:1–19] gehen wird. Ähnliches wäre auch von den himmlischen Szenen in Hiob 1f zu sagen: “Gott versuchte den Abraham”. Der Leser der Erzählung weiss von diesem ersten Satze an, worum es gehen wird. Das mildert die schwere Härte des Ganzen für den Hören, nicht aber für Abraham, der (gleich Hiob) von der ganzen Absicht Gottes nicht weiss’.²² It is indeed true that in this way the narrator creates two levels of knowledge. The reader shares in the omniscience of the narrator, whereas the persons who do not share

²¹ J.C. VanderKam, ‘The *Aqedah*, *Jubilees* and Pseudojubilees’, in: C.A. Evans – S. Talmon (eds), *The Quest for Context and Meaning. Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (BIS 28), Leiden 1997, 241–262 (esp. 249).

²² W. Zimmerli, *1 Mose 12–25 Abraham* (ZBKAT 1.2), Zürich 1976, 110–111. See also B. Jacob, *The First Book of the Bible Genesis. His Commentary Abridged, Edited and Translated by E.I. Jacob and W. Jacob*, New York 1974, p. 142: ‘The reader shall know from the outset, what Abraham does not know: the the stupendous demand made of him shall be only a test. . . . This reminds us of the book of Job . . .’; W.H. Gispen, *Genesis II. Genesis 11:27–25:11* (COT), Kampen 1979, 230–231: ‘Evenmin als Job wist Abraham, dat God hem door zijn bevel op de proef stelde’.

this knowledge are Abraham and Job.²³ However, this point is elaborated on quite differently in the two texts. The author of Gen 22:1–19 deals with this aspect in the heading of his story, and he uses only one word for it (נִסָּה: ‘He tested’). The author of the framework story of the book of Job elaborates this point in two, nearly identical dialogues between God and Satan (Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7a).

As far as the narrative technique is concerned, more differences between the two stories exist. I will only point out the use of place and character. The complete story of Gen 22:1–19 takes place on earth, although in Gen 22:11a one can perhaps speak of a point of contact between the heavens and the earth (‘The angel of the Lord called to him from heaven’). There is direct contact between God and Abraham, but we do not know what is happening in the heavens. Nothing about that is revealed. In the prologue of the book of Job (1:1–2:13), earth and heaven alternate. The text can be divided into five scenes: 1. Job 1:1–5: on earth; description of Job’s character; 2. Job 1:6–12: in heaven; first confrontation between YHWH and Satan; 3. Job 1:13–22: on earth: announcement of the disasters and Job’s response; 4. Job 2:1–7a: in heaven: second confrontation between YHWH and Satan; 5. Job 2:7b–13: on earth; Job’s personal afflictions; Job’s response; arrival of his friends.²⁴ With the exception of the first and last scenes, these scenes are delineated by a stereotyped phrase: ‘Now there was a day’ (וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם ו). Omission of the phrase in Job 2:7b shows that the heavenly and earthly spheres cross their borders. There is no direct contact between God (and Satan) and Job, but we do know what is happening in the heavens. As far as the characters are concerned in Gen 22:1–19, there are only a few personages: God, Abraham and Isaac, and in the background the two boys, but they have no active role in the text. In Job, how-

²³ J. Fokkelman, “‘On the Mount of the Lord There Is a Vision’”. A Response to Francis Landy concerning the Akedah’, in: J. Cheryl Exum (ed.), *Signs and Wonders. Biblical Texts in Literary Focus* (SBLSS), Atlanta 1989, 41–58 (esp. 47).

²⁴ A synchronic analysis of the prologue of the book of Job can be found in: D. Clines, ‘False Naivety in the Prologue of Job’, *HAR* 9 (1985) 127–136; R.W.E. Forrest, ‘The Two Faces of Job. Imagery and Integrity in the Prologue’, in: L. Eslinger, G. Taylor (eds), *Ascribe to the Lord. Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie* (JSOTS 67), Sheffield 1988, 385–398; A. Brenner, ‘Job the Pious? The Characterization of Job in the Narrative Framework story of the Book’, *JSOT* 43 (1989) 37–52; C.R. Seitz, ‘Job. Full-Structure, Movement, and Interpretation’, *Interpretation* 43 (1989) 5–17; A. Cooper, ‘Reading and Misreading the Prologue to Job’, *JSOT* 46 (1990) 67–79.

ever, there are many more characters. Although each scene has only a few characters, altogether there are quite a few personages: Job, his children, God, the sons of God, Satan, the wife of Job, his three friends.²⁵

The genre of both Gen 22:1–19 and the framework story of the book of Job may be viewed as being a legend, in that the focus is on character rather than event.²⁶ Several features of a tale can be detected, however. In Gen 22:1–19, there is a short exposition (Gen 22:1ab), followed by a lengthy complication (Gen 22:1c–10). This complication can be divided into three stages. Each successive stage raises the tension (a. 1c–4; b. 5–6; c. 7–10). After the climax, there is a resolution (Gen 22:11–12), a denouement (Gen 22:13–14) and a conclusion (Gen 22:19). In the book of Job, there is an exposition (Job 1:1–5) followed by a twofold complication (the two heavenly scenes and their consequences: Job 1:6–19; 2:1–7). A double resolution can be found in Job 1:20–22 and 2:8–10. A third arc of tension builds in Job 2:11, with the arrival of Job's friends. Its resolution is not reached until the epilogue (Job 42:10–17). Thus the book of Job contains three arcs of tension, while in Gen 22:1–19 there is only one. In Genesis, the climax is quite brief. It concerns the preparation of the offering, and the raising of the hand. In Job it is quite long. In Genesis, the climax of the story is in a certain sense interrupted, in that the offering of Isaac is not executed. In Job, the intended disasters do take place. In the denouement of the story of Genesis 22, we see substitution of the son with a ram (Gen 22:13). The epilogue of the book of Job does not substitute the lost property with something of a different kind. The lost property is doubled, whereas the lost children are replaced by the same number.

It is not my intention to explore the diachronic structure of the framework story of the book of Job.²⁷ It is important, however, to

²⁵ In ch. 42:10–17 even more characters occur.

²⁶ D.J.A. Clines, *Job 1–20* (WBC 17), Dallas, 6–7.

²⁷ For the diachronic structure of the framework story of the book of Job, see: D.B. MacDonald, 'The Original Form of the Legend of Job', *JBL* 14 (1898) 63–71; F. Buhl, 'Zur Vorgeschichte des Buches Hiob', in: K. Budde (ed.), *Vom Alten Testament* (BZAW 41), Giessen 1925, 52–61; A. Alt, 'Zur Vorgeschichte des Buches Hiob', *ZAW* 55 (1937) 265–268; C. Kuhl, 'Neuere Literarkritik des Buches Hiob', *ThR* 22 (1954) 261–316; G. Fohrer, 'Zur Vorgeschichte und Komposition des Buches Hiob', *VT* 6 (1956) 249–267; H.P. Müller, *Hiob und seine Freunde. Traditionsgeschichtliches zum Verständnis des Hiobbuches* (ThSt 103), Zürich 1970; L. Schmidt, 'De Deo'. *Studien zur Literarkritik und Theologie des Buches Jona, des Gesprächs zwischen Abraham und Jahwe in*

note that the two heavenly scenes (Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7a) are often considered to be later additions. The first heavenly scene does not play a part in the description of the disasters announced to Job (Job 1:13–21), whereas Job 1:13 links up with Job 1:5 very well.

b. *Profile of the Protagonists*

Both in Gen 22:1–19 and in the framework story of the book of Job (Job 1:1–2:13; 42:10–17) the protagonists are rich and prosperous and at the same time pious and God-fearing. Although the story of Gen 22:1–19 does not mention the wealth of Abraham, it is clear from the preceding chapters of the book of Genesis that Abraham is a well-off person (Gen 12:16; 13:2; 14:14; 24:35).²⁸ Specific numbers with regard to his wealth are not mentioned.²⁹ In Gen 22:1–19, nothing is said about Abraham's property, since the test is not about the possessions of Abraham. It is about Isaac, his only son, whom he loves. It is about the promises of God regarding the multiplying of Abraham's descendants, which is now threatened. In the beginning of the book of Job, the protagonist is described as a rich person, and his possessions are specified by numbers (Job 1:3: 'He had seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and very many servants; so that this man was the greatest of all the people of the east'). The calamities that overtake Job also concern his property.

In Gen 22:1–19, the piety of Abraham is not characterised explicitly before the test. Of course, in Gen 11:26–21:34 a special relationship between YHWH and Abraham is emphasised. Abraham does what YHWH has told him (cf. Gen 12:4), he builds altars (Gen 12:8; 13:18), and calls on the name of YHWH (Gen 12:8; 13:4; 21:33). YHWH makes a covenant with Abraham (Gen 15:1–21;

Gen 18,22ff und von Hi 1 (BZAW, 143), Berlin 1976; M.P. Reddy, 'The Book of Job. A Reconstruction', *ZAW* 90 (1978) 59–94; P. Weimar, 'Literarkritisches zur Ijobnovelle', *BN* 12 (1980) 62–80; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger & P. Weimar, 'Zur Entstehung, Gestalt und Bedeutung der Ijob-Erzählung (Ijob 1f; 42)', *BZ NF* 33 (1989) 1–24; E. Kutsch, 'Hiob und seine Freunde. Zu Problemen der Rahmenerzählung des Hiobbuches', in: S. Kreuzer, K. Lüthi (eds), *Zur Aktualität des Alten Testament*, 1992, 73–83; U. Berges, 'Der Ijobrahmen (Ijob 1,1–2,10; 42,7–17). Theologische Versuche angesichts unschuldigen Leidens', *BZ* 39 (1995) 225–245.

²⁸ Also the prosperities of the other patriarchs is stressed: Isaac (Gen 26:12–13); Jacob (Gen 36:7).

²⁹ With the exception of Gen 14:14, which describes that Abraham led forth three hundred and eighteen of his trained men.

17:1–27). However, taken by itself, the story of Gen 22:1–19 does not mention the piety of Abraham beforehand. One of the purposes of the test is to find out that Abraham is someone who is God-fearing. His piety only becomes evident during the test, in that Abraham accepts what is imposed on him, i.e., the offering of his beloved son. At the climax of the test, when Abraham is on the point of killing his son, the angel of YHWH proclaims: ‘Because now I know that you are one who fears God’ (Gen 22:12).

Whereas Abraham is only said to fear God after the binding of Isaac, it is said that Job fears God right from the beginning;³⁰ his character is explicitly mentioned in the beginning. He is a man ‘blameless and upright, one who feared God, and turned away from evil’ (Job 1:1). This is repeated by God in front of Satan (cf. Job 1:8, 2:3). God calls Job ‘my servant’, and ‘there is none like him on the earth (cf. Job 1:8). This characterisation has nothing to do with his actual behaviour during his suffering. The goal of the series of plagues is not to discover that Job is blameless and upright, but that Job is persistent in these qualities. He does not have these moral qualities because he is a wealthy man, but ‘for naught’ (cf. Job 1:9).

The piety of both Abraham and Job is expressed by the words ‘God-fearing’. The meaning of this expression is made clear in the literary context. Abraham does not withhold anything from God, not even his own son, on whom his future depends.³¹ In the book of Job, the expression is related to some other moral expressions (חם; ישר; סור מרע). Moreover, an active participation in some sort of test is not demanded. The expression ‘God-fearing’ is therefore interpreted somewhat differently with regard to Abraham and Job, respectively. In addition, the fear of God occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament quite often. Joseph reassures his brothers that he will treat them fairly because he fears God (Gen 42:18), and it is said that Obadiah, who was the housekeeper, feared YHWH (1 Kings 18:3, 12). The fear of God (or of YHWH) is used in relation to both cult and ethical behaviour.³² It is applied to the people as a whole and to individuals.

³⁰ Cf. Weinberg, ‘Job’, 293.

³¹ Seebass, 211

³² J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im Alten Testament* (AnBib 25; Rome 1965); H.-P. Stähli, art. יָרָא, *THAT*, I, 765–778; W. Fuhs, art. יָרָא, *TWAT*, III, 869–893.

The piety of Job is not only described with the expression 'God-fearing', but also with other expressions: *סור מרע* and *ישר*; *חם*. In front of Satan, God uses the word *עבדי*, whereas he also says *כי אין כמוהו בארץ*. The collocation of the words *חם* and *ישר* occurs especially in the Wisdom Literature and the Psalms: Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; Ps 37:37; 25:21; Prov 2:21; 28:10; 29:10.³³ The expression *חם* is also used in relation to Noah before the Flood (Gen 6:9: *חמים*), to Abraham (Gen 17:1: *חמים*), and to Jacob (Gen 25:27: *איש חם*). The word *ישר* occurs quite often in the Old Testament (over 200 times). However, it is not used in relation to Abraham or any of the other patriarchs. The expression *סור מרע* (the avoiding of evil) in parallel with 'God-fearing' occurs outside Job 1:1, 8; 2:3 also in Job 28:28; Prov 3:7 (cf. Prov 14:16; 16:6). Besides, the expression occurs in Ps 34:15; 37:27; Prov 4:27; 13:19; Isa 1:16; 59:15. In relation to Abraham the expression is not used. The term *עבדי* ('my servant') is frequently applied to other persons by God:³⁴ Moses (e.g., Exod 14:31; Num 12:7; Deut 34:54), Caleb (Num 14:24), David (2 Sam 7:5, 8), Isaiah (Isa 20:3), Zerubbabel (Jer 25:9), the prophets (e.g., 2 Kings 9:7; 17:13, 23), but also Abraham (Gen 26:24; Ps 105:6, 42), Isaac (Gen 24:14; 1 Chr 16:13); Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod 32:13; Deut 9:24). The phrase 'there is none like him in the earth' is usually applied to God. Only in Job 1:8; 2:3, and in 1 Sam 10:24 (Saul) is the phrase applied to humans.³⁵

In sum, one can say that although the protagonists of both stories are wealthy and God-fearing, and although both are involved in some sort of trial, the way they are portrayed and their relation to the test of their piety is very different.

c. *The Test*

From the beginning onwards, what happens to Abraham is called a test ('God tested Abraham').³⁶ Moreover, the test concerns his son, his only one, whom he loves. Nothing is said about a loss of property, nor of a physical injury. Besides, the test has an important link with the plot of the Abraham story in the book of Genesis. The

³³ Cf. also 1 Kings 9:4; Prov 2:7.

³⁴ D.J.A. Clines, *Job*, 24. cf. M. Pope, *Job* (AB 15), Garden City, NY 1965, 12.

³⁵ Cf. Clines, *Job*, 24.

³⁶ For the meaning of *נסה*, see, e.g., Neef, *Prüfung*, 51–53.

promise of a huge amount of offspring, which God made several times to Abraham (Gen 12:2; 13:16; 15:5; 17:2–5, 16), is threatened not only by the fact that Sarah is barren, but also by the fact that when, late in life, she bears Abraham a son (Gen 21:1–8), Abraham has to offer him. It is only through Isaac that his descendants will be named (Gen 21:12). The test did not go so far as to force Abraham to actually offer his son. The aim of the test was to ascertain whether Abraham was ‘God-fearing’ or not. The actual offering was not necessary to achieve this goal. The fact that Abraham carried out the words of God to completion was sufficient.

In the framework story, what happens to Job is not called a test. The text speaks about evil that befalls Job (e.g., Job 2:10: ‘Shall we receive the good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?’).³⁷ Job is affected in his property (Job 1:13–17: the oxen, the asses, the sheep, the camels, the servants), his children (Job 1:18–19), and in his own body (Job 2:7b). Satan, or God, does not prevent the fulfilment of the evil. He loses his property and his children. God only restores them to him in the epilogue. The aim of the plagues is to hit Job, but not his children. The aim is not to find out if Job is God-fearing or not. From the beginning, he is recognised as being a man who fears God. The aim seems to be to refute Satan, who doubts the selflessness of Job’s behaviour.

In Genesis 22, God (אלהים) is the one who tests. He charges Abraham to offer his son. Abraham, the father, is going to carry out this order. In the end, it is the Angel of YHWH (מלאך יהוה) who prevents the offering of the son. In the prologue of the book of Job, God is not the one who tests. He has delivered Job to Satan, with some restrictions. Satan is the cause of Job’s distress. Job is not addressed to carry out an order, let alone to offer one of his children. Instead, plagues are sent to him: a raid by foreigners (Sabaeans; Chaldaeans), a strong fire, a great wind, and a disease. Although Job himself ascribes the suffering to YHWH (Job 1:21; 2:10), in the heavenly scenes the author makes clear that Satan is the instigator of the injuries. Finally, in the epilogue it is said that YHWH restored the fortunes of Job. Whereas Abraham is prevented from offering his son, the loss of children and property does happen to Job.

³⁷ Compare the epilogue: ‘all the evil (כל הרעה) that YHWH had brought upon him’ (Job 42:11).

Genesis 22:1–19 describes how Abraham carries out the order to offer his son. Almost no emotion of Abraham is made explicit. Indeed, he seems to reassure his servants ('we will return to you') and his son (Gen 22:8: 'God will provide for himself the lamb of the sacrifice, my son'). After the angel prevents the offering of Isaac, what Abraham feels is not shown. He sees a ram, and offers it instead of his son, whereas he also gives a name to the place ('YHWH will see'). The reaction of Job to the plagues is described quite extensively. After the loss of his property and his children, Job's lament is shown (Job 1:20: 'Then Job arose, and rent his robe, and shaved his head, and fell upon the ground, and worshipped'). Although this probably reflects a ritual action, it also reflects something of Job's feelings. After the attack on his physical integrity, Job sits on the ashes (Job 2:8: 'And he took a potsherd with which to scrape himself, and sat among the ashes'). In the prologue, it is stressed that Job did not blame God (cf. Job 1:21–22; 2:9–10).³⁸ Whereas Abraham accepts a charge, Job accepts what happens to him. His piety is not for naught.

It is said of both protagonists that they had accumulated wealth before the test, whereas after the test both are blessed abundantly.³⁹ The angel of YHWH blesses Abraham after the test (Gen 22:17–18). The blessing is not concerned with his personal property, nor with a restoration of his son. The test was not about a loss of his property, whereas his son is saved. The blessing is applied especially to the future generations. In the prologue of the book of Job, a blessing from YHWH is lacking after the sufferings. It is only after the poetic dialogue part of the book (Job 3:1–42:6) that Job is blessed abundantly 'YHWH gave Job twice as much as he had before' (Job 42:10). YHWH blessed the latter days of Job more than his beginning (Job 42:12). The blessing does concern his personal property. Moreover, the same number of his children that died, is now restored (Job 42:13). Finally, he dies at a venerable age (Job 42:16–17).

During the test nothing is said about Sara, the wife of Abraham. In contrast, the wife of Job does play a role in his drama. She tries to persuade Job to curse God, albeit without success. Finally, another similarity is the old ages the protagonists reach (Gen 25:8; cf. Job 42:16–17).

³⁸ I refrain here from the dialogue part of the book (Job 3:1–42:6), which describes Job as a rebel.

³⁹ Gispén, *Genesis II*, 231.

d. *Conclusion*

In Genesis 22, God is the one who tests, the angel of YHWH is the one who prevents Abraham from offering his son. With regard to Job, Satan causes the suffering, God defines the limits of it, but he does not prevent the death of Job's children. In Genesis 22, Abraham is the one who intends to execute the offering, Job experiences the suffering, but does not actively play a part in it. In Gen 22, the trial is not completed; the plagues are actually executed. Both Abraham and Job were innocent with regard to their trial. The reader, however, does have the relevant information in both cases, although the way he is informed is different in each case. The similarities between Gen 22:1–19 and Job 1:1–2:13 are too vague and too general, while there are too many differences that preclude saying that one passage influences the other.

3. *A Comparison of Genesis 22:1–19 and Jubilees 17:15–18:19*⁴⁰

The story of the offering of Isaac (Gen 22:1–19) is rewritten quite literally in *Jub* 18:1–17. The most striking deviation is the fact that the rewriting is preceded by an introduction (*Jub* 17:15–18), and followed by a conclusion (*Jub* 18:18–19), both of which are related to the story. Genesis leaves the reader with the question of why God had to test Abraham. In the introduction (*Jub* 17:15–18), the author of *Jubilees* makes clear that it is not God who takes the initiative, but the Prince of Mastema. According to *Jubilees*, the test does not show to God that Abraham is God-fearing, since God is omniscient. Moreover, Abraham has already been tested six times. God knows that Abraham is faithful to him (*Jub* 17:17–18). The introduction runs as follows:⁴¹

⁴⁰ I refrain here from the important text 4Q225, which has many similarities with *Jub* 17:15–18:19. Cf. VanderKam, 'Aqedah', 241–261. See also the contribution of F. García Martínez in this volume.

⁴¹ Quotations from *Jubilees* are from J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, II* (CSCO 511; Scriptores Aethiopici 88), Leuven 1989, with slight modifications.

Jubilees 17:15–18

- 15a During the seventh week, in the first year, during the first month—on the twelfth of this month—in this jubilee,
 15b there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham,
 15c that he was faithful in everything that he told him,
 15d that the Lord loved him,
 15e and (that) in every difficulty he was faithful.
 16a Then Prince Mastema came
 16b and said before God:
 16c ‘Abraham does indeed love his son Isaac
 16d and finds him more pleasing than anyone else.
 16e Tell him to offer him as a sacrifice on an altar.
 16f Then you will see whether he performs this order
 16g and will know whether he is faithful in everything through which you test him’.
 17a Now the Lord was aware that Abraham was faithful in every difficulty which he had told him.
 17b For he had tested him through his land and the famine;
 17c he had tested him through the wealth of kings;
 17d he had tested him again through his wife when she was taken forcibly,
 17e and through circumcision;
 17f and he had tested him through Ishmael and his servant girl Hagar when he sent them away.
 18a In everything through which he tested him he was found faithful.
 18b He himself did not grow impatient,
 18c nor was he slow to act;
 18d for he was faithful
 18e and one who loved the Lord.

One can consider the introduction as an addition to the biblical text of Gen 22:1–19. It is very well possible, however, that there is a clue in the biblical text, i.e., the very first sentence: וַיְהִי אֶחָד הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה (Gen 22:1). This formula occurs in the book of Genesis outside Gen 22:1 only in Gen 39:7; 40:1, and in slightly different form also in Gen 15:1; 21:20; 48:1.⁴² The function of the formula seems to be to fit the individual events into the entire story.⁴³ In this case it provides the connection with the preceding passage.⁴⁴ The author of *Jubilees* has taken over the formula only in *Jub* 14:1 (= Gen 15:1): ‘After these things’ (*wa’emdeh̄ra zenagara*), and in *Jub* 39:14: ‘In those days’ (*wabarwe’etu mawā’el*).⁴⁵ It is very well possible that the

⁴² Outside the book of Genesis, see 1 Kings 17:17; 21:1. In slightly different form, see: Josh 24:29; Est 2:1; 3:1; 7:1.

⁴³ So, e.g., Westermann, *Genesis II*, 433; Neef, *Prüfung*, 51.

⁴⁴ Cf. Seebass, *Genesis II*, 203.

⁴⁵ The passages in which Gen 22:20 and 48:1 occur are not taken over in *Jubilees*.

author of *Jubilees* interpreted the formula of Gen 22:1 as referring to something that happens before Abraham is put to a test, though he could not find this occurrence in the text of Genesis. By way of a midrash, he suggests that something in the heavens caused the test. More precisely, it seems as if he interpreted דְּבָרִים (LXX: ῥήματα) as 'words'. The phrase 'there were words (*qalat*) in heaven regarding Abraham' (Jub 17:15b), seems to reflect the opening phrase of Gen 22:1.⁴⁶ Prince Mastema raises objections with regard to Abraham. Although he is a model of good behaviour, you only know if he is really faithful when you ask him to offer his son Isaac, claims the Prince. God complies with Prince Mastema's request, though he knows it is not really necessary. The test is being executed for others, in the first place for Mastema (Jub 18:9, 12), but also for others (Jub 18:16).

Jub 17:15–18 forms the beginning of a history of interpretation of Gen 22:1. A comparable interpretation occurs in 4Q225, Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 32:1–4; *BT Sanh* 89b en *Gen R* 55:4.⁴⁷ These texts describe the events that precede the binding of Isaac, which is the direct cause for the test of Abraham. From several sides, doubts are cast upon the true loyalty of Abraham. In Jub 17:15–18 and 4Q225 it is Prince Mastema who doubts; according to him, Abraham is not willing to offer his only son. In Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* 32:1–4, it is recounted that all the angels were jealous of Abraham, and that all the worshipping host envied him. In *BT Sanh* 89b, Satan puts forward objections. According to him, Abraham has prepared many feasts, but he had not even a turtledove or a young bird to sacrifice to God. In *Gen R* 55:4, objections against Abraham are put forward, first by Abraham himself, then by the ministering angels, and finally by the nations of the world. Although Abraham caused everyone to rejoice, he did not set aside a single bull or ram for God. In the course of the tradition, several instigators of the test of Abraham are mentioned: the Prince of Mastema (*Jubilees*, 4Q225), Satan (*BT Sanh* 89b), the worshipping angels (Pseudo-Philo; *Gen R* 55:4), the foreign

Gen 39:7 is rewritten in Jub 39:5, but *Jubilees* does not have an equivalent for 'It happens after these things'.

⁴⁶ Since the heavenly 'words' (Jub 17:15b) reflect the 'words' of Gen 22:1a, the plural reading seems to be preferred. See Kister, 'Observations', 10; VanderKam, 'Aqedah', 249.

⁴⁷ For the following, see Kister, 'Observations', 10–15; cf. also VanderKam, 'Aqedah', 249–250.

nations (*Gen R* 55:4) and Abraham himself (*Gen R* 55:4). The reasons why they object to Abraham are diverse. According to *Jubilees* and 4Q225, Abraham is not prepared to offer his only son; according to *Pseudo-Philo* the worshipping angels were jealous of Abraham, although no concrete accusation is uttered.⁴⁸ According to *TB Sanh* 89b, he has no turtledove or a young bird to offer to God, and according to *Gen R* 55:4, no single bull or ram. In *Jubilees* and 4Q225, God meets the challenge of Mastema, in *Pseudo-Philo* he responds to the jealousy of the angels, whereas in *TB Sanh* 89b and *Gen R* 55:4 God is reacting to objections put forward by several sides. In all cases, God is the one who tests Abraham. The goal of the test is to show to others how faithful Abraham is to God.

A final element in the introduction is the date for the binding of Isaac. According to the author of *Jubilees*, it takes place during the seventh week, in the first year of the forty-first jubilee (cf. *Jub* 17:15a), which is *anno mundi* 2003. Isaac was born in *anno mundi* 1988 (cf. *Jub* 16:15; 17:1), and should have been fifteen years at the time of the binding. The test started on the twelfth of the first month (*Jub* 17:15a), and lasted seven days. The indicators of time can be found, apart from *Jub* 17:15a, in 18:3a ('early in the morning'), 18:3e ('on the third day', or: 'in three days'), and 18:18b ('seven days during which he went and returned safely'). It seems to be obvious that the challenge of Mastema and the commandment of YHWH took place on the 12th of the first month, which is according to the calendar of *Jubilees* a Sunday. According to some, the departure of Abraham was on Monday, the 13th ('early in the morning'), whereas the arrival and the binding of Isaac should have been then on Wednesday, the 15th. The return-trip started at the 16th and ended on the 18th, a Saturday.⁴⁹ In the light of the strict Sabbath observation, it is difficult to imagine that Abraham would have travelled on a Sabbath day.⁵⁰ However, when one realises that the author of *Jubilees* could have viewed the evening as the beginning of the day, it works out some-

⁴⁸ The envy might be caused by his being loved by God, or because he got a son from his barren wife.

⁴⁹ This is more or less the opinion of Déaut, although, according to him, Abraham departed on the 12th. R. Le Déaut, *La nuit pascale. Essai sur la signification de la Pâque juive à partir du Targum d'Exode XII 42* (AnBib 22; Rome 1963), 179–184; cf. A. Jaubert, 'Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine', *VT* 7 (1957) 252–253.

⁵⁰ VanderKam, 'Aqedah', 246. See, especially, *Jub* 2:29–30.

what differently.⁵¹ In this case the challenge of Mastema took place during the evening or night of the 12th of the first month, but 'early in the morning' (*Jub* 18:3a) was still on the same day. The arrival at the mountain was, in this opinion, not on the 15th, but on the 14th,⁵² whereas the return-trip took place from the 15th until the 17th. The 18th could in this case be celebrated as a Sabbath.

The date of the binding of Isaac is the same as the date for the Passover.⁵³ According to Vermes the saving virtue of the Passover lamb proceeded from the merits of the first lamb, i.e., Isaac, who offered himself upon the altar.⁵⁴ At the same time, the author of Jubilees proves the patriarchal origin of a festival of seven days (cf. *Jub* 18:18), as can be seen at the end of the text, after the rewriting of Gen 22:1–19:

Jubilees 18:18–19

- 18a He used to celebrate this festival joyfully for seven days during all the years.
 - 18b He named it the festival of the Lord in accord with the seven days during which he went and returned safely.
 - 19a This is the way it is ordained
 - 19b and written on the heavenly tables regarding Israel and his descendants:
 - 19c (they are) to celebrate this festival for seven days with festal happiness.
-

Most probably this refers to the festival of the Unleavened Bread, which is related to Passover.⁵⁵ The problem with this interpretation is that in the Bible (cf. Lev 23:6–8; Num 28:16–25) this festival happens

⁵¹ J. Baumgarten, 'The Beginning of the Day in the Calender of Jubilees', *JBL* 77 (1958) 355–360; VanderKam, 'Aqedah', 247–248.

⁵² G. Vermes, 'Redemption and Genesis xxii—The Binding of Isaac and the Sacrifice of Jesus', in *idem, Scripture and Tradition. Haggadic Studies* (SPB, 4; Leiden), 193–227 (esp. 215, note 3); A. Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris 1963), 90 (note 5); VanderKam, 'Aqedah', 247.

⁵³ Vermes, 'Redemption', 215; Jaubert, *Notion*, 90 (note 5); VanderKam, 'Aqedah', 247. See *Jub* 49:1 ('Remember the commandments which the Lord gave you regarding the passover so that you may celebrate it at its time on the fourteenth of the first month, that you may sacrifice it before evening, and so that they may eat it at night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset').

⁵⁴ Vermes, 'Redemption', 215–216.

⁵⁵ According to M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* (Genève & Paris 1960), 162–163, the travel of Abraham took place on the festival of Booths. See also A. Dupont-Sommer & M. Philonenko (eds), *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris 1987), 710. For the rejection of this opinion, see Jaubert, *Notion*, 90 (note 5).

to be from the 15th until the 21th of the 1th month, and not from the 12th until the 18th of this month.⁵⁶ However, *Jub* 18:18–19 does not say that dates of the festival are the same as the days of the travel of Abraham.⁵⁷ The association of the sacrifice of Isaac with Passover was important for the author of *Jubilees*.⁵⁸

These elements explain most of the additions in the text of *Jubilees* with regard to the text of Genesis, not only the introduction and the conclusion (*Jub* 17:15–18; 18:18–19), but also some of the other additions (*Jub* 18:9, 12a, 16cd). The rest of the text of the trial of Abraham (*Jub* 18:1–17) is a quite literal reproduction of Gen 22:1b–19, as can be seen in the following synopsis.⁵⁹

<i>Genesis</i> 22:1–3	<i>Jubilees</i> 18:1–3
1a AFTER THESE THINGS GOD TESTED ABRAHAM.	[cf. 17:15–18]
1b <i>He</i> said to him:	1a <i>The Lord</i> said to him:
1c ‘Abraham []!’	1b ‘Abraham, ABRAHAM!’
1d And he said:	1c And he said:
1e ‘Here am I’.	1d ‘Here am I’
2a He said []:	2a He said TO HIM:
2b ‘Take your son, your <i>only</i> one whom you love—Isaac,	2b ‘Take your son, your <i>beloved</i> one whom you love—Isaac—
2c and go to <i>the land of Moriah</i> .	2c and go to <i>a high land</i> .
2d Offer him THERE AS A SACRIFICE on one of the moun- tains (of) which I will <i>tell</i> you’.	2d Offer him [] on one of the mountains which I will <i>show</i> you’.
3a So <i>Abraham</i> got up early in the morning,	3a So <i>he</i> got up early in the morning,
3b saddled his ass,	3b saddled his ass,
3c and took two servants with him and his son Isaac.	3c and took with him two ser- vants and his son Isaac.

⁵⁶ Cf. VanderKam, ‘Aqedah’, 248. This might indicate that the dates of Abraham’s travel took place from the 15th until the 21th. Cf. J. Baumgarten, ‘The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees and the Bible’, in *idem*, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 103–104.

⁵⁷ VanderKam, ‘Aqedah’, 248 (note 15).

⁵⁸ This tradition continued to play a part until the 2nd century CE. See, Vermes, ‘Redemption’ 215–216.

⁵⁹ In the synoptic overview I try to give a classification of the similarities and dissimilarities between Genesis and *Jubilees*. I put in small caps the elements of Genesis which do not occur in *Jubilees*, and vice versa, i.e., the omissions and additions. In ‘normal script’ are the corresponding elements between both texts, i.e., the verbatim quotations of one or more words of the source text in *Jubilees*, other than addition or omission. Sometimes there is a rearrangement of words and sentences. I underline those elements.

table (cont.)

<i>Genesis 22:3-8</i>	<i>Jubilees 18:3-7b</i>
3d He cleaved the wood for the sacrifice,	3d He cleaved the wood for the sacrifice,
3e AND AROSE and went to the place OF WHICH GOD HAD TOLD HIM.	3e [] and went to the place []
4a On the third day ABRAHAM LIFTED UP HIS EYES	on the third day. []
4b and he saw the place from a distance. []	3f And he saw the place from a distance.
5a Abraham said to his servants:	4a WHEN HE REACHED A WELL OF WATER,
5b 'Stay here with the ass;	4b <i>he</i> said to his servants:
5c I and the child will go YONDER,	4c 'Stay here with the ass
5d we worship,	4d I and the child will go [],
5e and we will return to you'.	4e we worship,
6a <i>Abraham</i> took the wood for the sacrifice,	4f and we will return to you'.
6b and <i>laid it on</i> Isaac his son.	5a <i>He</i> took the wood for the sacrifice
6c He took in his hand the fire and the knife.	5b and <i>placed it on the shoulders</i> of Isaac his son.
6d The two of them went together [].	5c He took in his hand fire and a knife.
7a Isaac said to his father ABRAHAM,	5d The two of them went together TO THAT PLACE.
b and he said:	6a Isaac said to his father []:
7c 'My father!'	6b '[] Father'.
7d He said:	6c He said:
7e 'Here am I, my son'.	6d 'Here am I, my son'.
7f He said []:	6e He said TO HIM:
7g 'Here are the fire and the wood;	6f 'Here are the fire, the knife, and the wood,
7h but where is the <i>lamb</i> for the sacrifice []?'	6g but where is the <i>sheep</i> for the SACRIFICE, FATHER?
8a <i>Abraham</i> said:	7a <i>He</i> said:
8b 'God will provide for himself the lamb of the sacrifice, my son'.	7b 'The Lord will provide for himself a sheep of the sacrifice, my son'.
8c THEY WENT BOTH OF THEM TOGETHER.	[]

Genesis 29:9-14

Jubilees 18:7c-13

9a When *they* came to the place of
 which God had told him,
 9b Abraham built an altar THERE,
 9c and laid in order the wood [].
 9d He bound Isaac his son
 9e and laid him on the altar, on the
 wood.
 10a Abraham stretched forth his
 hand,
 10b and took the knife to slaughter
 [] his son
 []
 11a The angel of the Lord called to
 him from heaven,
 11b and said []:
 'Abraham, Abraham!'
 []
 11c And he said:
 11d 'Here am I'.
 12a He said []:
 12b 'Do not lay your hand on the
 child
 12c and do not do anything to him,
 12d because now I know that you
 are one who fears God.
 12e You have not refused me your
 son, *your only one*.
 []
 13a Abraham lifted up his eyes,
 13b and looked,
 13c and behold, a ram *behind*,
 caught in a *thicket* by its horns.
 13d Abraham went
 13e and took the ram.
 13f He offered it as a sacrifice
 instead of his son.
 14a Abraham called THE NAME of
 that place 'The Lord *will see*',
 14b as it is said TO THIS DAY:
 14c 'ON THE MOUNT OF the Lord
it will be seen'.

7c When *he* neared the place of the
 mountain of the Lord,
 8a he built an altar []
 8b and placed the wood ON THE ALTAR.
 8c He tied up Isaac his son,
 8d and placed him on the wood which
 was on the altar.
 8e and stretched forth his hand to take
 the knife to slaughter ISAAC his son.
 9a THEN I STOOD IN FRONT OF HIM,
 AND IN FRONT OF THE PRINCE OF
 MASTEMA.
 9b THE LORD SAID:
 9c 'TELL HIM NOT TO LET HIS HAND
 GO DOWN ON THE CHILD,
 9d AND NOT DO ANYTHING TO HIM
 9e BECAUSE I KNOW THAT HE IS ONE
 WHO FEARS THE LORD'.
 10a I called to him from heaven
 10b and said TO HIM:
 10c 'Abraham, Abraham!'
 10d HE WAS STARTLED,
 10e and he said:
 10f 'Here am I'.
 11a I said TO HIM:
 11b 'Do not lay your hand on the
 child
 11c and do not do anything to him,
 11d because now I know that you are
 one who fears *the Lord*.
 11e You have not refused me your
first-born son'.
 12a THE PRINCE OF MASTEMA WAS PUT
 TO SHAME.
 12b Abraham lifted up his eyes,
 12c and looked,
 12c and behold a ram caught;
 12d it was coming with its horns.
 12e Abraham went
 12f and took the ram.
 12g He offered it as a sacrifice instead
 of his son.
 13a Abraham called [] that place
 The Lord *saw*',
 13b so that it is said []:
 13c '[] The Lord *saw*'.
 13c IT IS MT. ZION.

Genesis 22:15–19

Jubilees 18:14–17

15a	THE ANGEL OF the Lord called to Abraham [] a second time from heaven. []	14a	[] The Lord called to Abraham BY HIS NAME a second time from heaven,
		14b	JUST AS WE HAD APPEARED IN ORDER TO SPEAK TO HIM IN THE LORD'S NAME.
16a	He said:	15a	He said:
16b	'By myself I have sworn, says the Lord:	15b	'By myself I have sworn, says the Lord:
16c	because you have done this thing,	15c	because you have done this thing
16d	and have not refused [] your son, <i>your only one</i> [],	15d	and have not refused ME your <i>first-born</i> son WHOM YOU LOVE,
17a	I will indeed bless you,	15e	I will indeed bless you
17b	and I will indeed multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore.	15f	and will indeed multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the seashore.
17c	Your descendants will possess <i>the gate</i> of their enemies.	15g	Your descendants will possess <i>the cities</i> of their enemies.
18a	By your descendants will all the nations of the earth be blessed,	16a	By your descendants will all the nations of the earth be blessed
18b	because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice'. []	16b	because of the fact that you have obeyed my voice.
		16c	I HAVE MADE KNOWN TO EVERYONE
		16d	THAT YOU ARE FAITHFUL TO ME IN EVERYTHING THAT I HAVE TOLD YOU.
		16e	GO IN PEACE'.
19a	Abraham <i>returned</i> to his servants.	17a	Abraham <i>went</i> to his servants.
19b	They arose	17b	They arose
19c	and went together to Beer-sheba;	17c	and went together to Beersheba.
19d	Abraham lived at <i>Beer-Sheba</i> .	17d	Abraham lived at <i>the well of oath</i> .

Despite the fact that the author of *Jubilees* follows Genesis 22:1–19 quite literally, the synopsis shows that there are additions, omissions and other variations. In the first place, the additions in *Jub* 18:9, 12a, 16cd are motivated by the introduction (*Jub* 17:15–18). In *Jub* 18:9a, 12a, Prince Mastema is mentioned, but also other additions and variations in these verses are related to the introduction. When one compares Gen 22:11–18 with *Jub* 18:9–16, it is striking that whereas in Genesis the 'Angel of YHWH' twice calls to Abraham, he is not referred to explicitly in *Jubilees*. However, an angel does indeed play a part in *Jubilees*. In *Jub* 18:9–11 the use of the 1st person singular (*Jub* 18:9a, 10a, 11a) refers to 'the Angel of the Presence',

who is dictating the whole book of *Jubilees* to Moses (cf. *Jub* 2:1).⁶⁰ In *Jub* 18:14b the 1st person plural is used. The angel speaks directly (*Jub* 18:10a, 11a) or indirectly (*Jub* 18:14b: 'just as we had appeared in order to speak to him'). In contrast to Genesis, the Angel of the Presence explicitly receives the command to speak from God (*Jub* 18:9bc: 'The Lord said: 'Tell him . . .'). Moreover, God dictates literally (*Jub* 18:9c–e) what the angel later on says to Abraham (*Jub* 18:11b–d). In *Jub* 18:14b, it is explicitly stated that the angels speak to Abraham 'in the Lord's name'. In addition, in *Jub* 18:15a the 3rd person singular is used ('He said'), and this refers to God, not to the angels. In conclusion, on the one hand one can say that, more explicitly than in Genesis, God is held responsible for the content of what the angel says. On the other hand, it is clear that by putting the words of Gen 22:12b–e into the mouth of the angel (*Jub* 18:11b–e) God is protected against the reproach that he is innocent. He should have known beforehand how Abraham was going to behave. It is possible that the use of 'now' (*ye'eze*) in *Jub* 18:11d contributes to this interpretation, for this word does not occur in *Jub* 18:9e, where God is speaking.⁶¹

In the second place, most of the deviations in *Jub* 18:1–17 with regard to MT Gen 22:1–19 are of a text-critical nature. They run parallel to alternative readings of words and phrases in one or more ancient versions of Genesis. I point out the deviations in the following lines: Gen 22:1c (= *Jub* 18:1b), 2a (= *Jub* 18:2a), 2b (= *Jub* 18:2b), 2c (= *Jub* 18:2c), 3a (= *Jub* 18:3a), 5a (= *Jub* 18:4b), 6a (= *Jub* 18:5a), 7a (= *Jub* 18:6a), 7f (= *Jub* 18:6e), 8a (= *Jub* 18:7a), 9a (= *Jub* 18:7c), 9b (= *Jub* 18:8a), 9c (= *Jub* 18:8b), 10a (= *Jub* 18:8e), 10b (= *Jub* 18:8e), 12a (= *Jub* 18:11a), 12b (= *Jub* 18:11b), 13c (= *Jub* 18:12c), 13f (= *Jub* 18:12g), 14a (= *Jub* 18:13a), 14c (= *Jub* 18:13c), 15a (= *Jub* 18:14a), 16d (= *Jub* 18:15d), 17c (= *Jub* 18:15g). In most of these cases, the differences between *Jubilees* and MT Gen 22:1–19 are attested in ancient versions of Genesis. Therefore, they could be due to the fact that the author of *Jubilees* had a text of Genesis in front of him that was slightly different from MT.

⁶⁰ Some Ethiopic manuscripts read *Jub* 18:10: 'He called'; cf. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, II, 106.

⁶¹ Apparently, the contradiction between *Jub* 18:9a ('I stood in front of him, and in front of the Prince of Mastema') and *Jub* 18:10a ('I called to him from heaven') was not relevant for the author of *Jubilees*. It illustrates the tendency in this chapter to follow the biblical text as closely as possible.

In the third place, there are also quite a lot of small differences between *Jub* 18:1–17 and MT Gen 22:1–19, which are not attested in ancient versions, but which do not fundamentally change the meaning of the text. I point out: Gen 22:1b (= *Jub* 18:1a), 2d (= *Jub* 18:2d [2x]), 3e (= *Jub* 18:3e [2x]), 4a (= *Jub* 18:3e [2x]), 4b (= *Jub* 18:4a), 5c (= *Jub* 18:4d), 6b (= *Jub* 18:5b), 6d (= *Jub* 18:5d), 7b (= *Jub* 18:6a), 7c (= *Jub* 18:6b), 7h (= *Jub* 18:6g), 8c (= *Jub* 18:7b), 9a (= *Jub* 18:7c [2x]), 9b (= *Jub* 18:8a), 9d (= *Jub* 18:8c [?]), 11a (= *Jub* 18:10a), 11b (= *Jub* 18:10b), 11c (= *Jub* 18:10d), 12e (= *Jub* 18:11e), 13c (= *Jub* 18:12d), 14a (= *Jub* 18:13a), 14b (= *Jub* 18:13b), 14c (= *Jub* 18:13cd [2x]), 15a (= *Jub* 18:14ab [2x]), 16d (= *Jub* 18:15d [2x]), 19a (= *Jub* 18:17a), 19d (= *Jub* 18:17d).

Many of these small deviations, either text-critical or not, are discussed by VanderKam, and it is not necessary to go into all these differences here.⁶² I restrict myself to some of the differences. Firstly, three times MT Gen 22:1–19 contains the word ‘your only one’ (יְחִידָךְ Gen 22:2b, 12e, 16d), the first time completed with the phrase ‘whom you love, Isaac’ (Gen 22:2b: אֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתָּ אֹתוֹ יִצְחָק). In all these places LXX, OL, EthGen Gen read ‘your beloved one’ instead of ‘your only one’. This reading possibly goes back to the form יְדִידָךְ. The reading ‘your only one’ is not followed in *Jubilees*. Instead, it reads ‘your beloved one’ in *Jub* 18:2d (= Gen 22:2b), which is the reading that is attested in LXX, OL, EthGen. In *Jub* 18:11e (= Gen 22:12e) and in *Jub* 18:15d (= Gen 22:16d), the reading is ‘your first-born son’, in the last case followed by the phrase ‘whom you love’, as is the case in Gen 22:2b (= *Jub* 18:2d). The original Hebrew of *Jubilees* probably read בְּכוֹרָךְ, a reading not attested in any of the versions of Gen 22:12e, 16d.⁶³

Secondly, some of the differences have to do with the place of the offering. In his rendering of Gen 22:2c (‘the land of Moriah’) with ‘a high land’ (*Jub* 18:2c), the author of *Jubilees* comes close to the reading of the LXX (τὴν ὑψηλὴν).⁶⁴ This reading possibly goes

⁶² VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees, II*, 105–109. For a complete inventarisation of the differences, see *idem*, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Missoula 1977, 150–198; ‘Jubilees and the Hebrew Texts of Genesis—Exodus’ in *From Revelation to Canon. Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJS 62), Leiden 2000, 448–461.

⁶³ Note that the Latin text of *Jubilees* reads in 18:11e: *primogenito* (= בְּכוֹרָךְ), and in 18:15d: *unigenito* (= יְחִידָךְ).

⁶⁴ Cf. also Old Latin and EthGen.

back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* of Gen 22:2c, which did not have הַמְרִיָּה, but something like הִרְמָה.⁶⁵ However, it is also possible that the author of *Jubilees* deliberately changed his *Vorlage* because in *Jub* 18:13 it becomes clear that the place where Abraham is going to offer his son is identified with Mount Zion. The identification of Moriah and Zion (Jerusalem) occurs also in 2 Chron 3:1 ('... the house of YHWH in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where YHWH had appeared...'), and in rabbinic sources.⁶⁶

In three places where the text deals with the place of the sacrifice, *Jubilees* changes or omits the relative clause: *Jub* 18:2d reads 'Offer him on one of the mountains which I will show you', which could perhaps better be translated with 'which I will *make known* to you' (זַא'אנָא 'אָדָא'אָ), against the MT: 'which I will *tell* you' (Gen 22:2d: אָמַר אֵלַיִךְ אִשָּׁר); *Jub* 18:3e omits the relative clause of Gen 22:3f (אָמַר לֹו הָאֱלֹהִים), whereas in *Jub* 18:7c he interprets the 'place of which God had told him' (Gen 22:9a) with 'the mountain of the Lord', which can hardly mean anything other than Mount Zion. The author of *Jubilees* thus consistently interprets the place of the offering as Mount Zion, and he might therefore have deliberately changed 'the land of Moriah (Gen 22:2c) into 'a high land' (*Jub* 18:2c), whereas the changes the author makes with regard to the description of the place (*Jub* 18:3e, 7c) serve the same goal.

Thirdly, it is a striking fact that the proper name 'Abraham' is used in *Jub* 18:1–17 considerably less than in Gen 22:1b–19: against 17 times in Gen 22:22:b–19, only 10 times in *Jub* 18:1–17.⁶⁷ This difference might be due to text-critical reasons, in that the author of *Jubilees* did not have the proper name in his copy of Genesis. However, when one looks at the evidence in the versions, omission

⁶⁵ The versions differ quite a lot in their rendering of הַמְרִיָּה. SamP has הַמְרִיָּה, Peshitta reads 'mwrj', which reflects הַמְרִיָּה. Symmachus reads ἡμερῖα, which might reflect a vocalisation of the verb יִרְאָה in Gen 22:14a, d as a passive form: 'will appear, be seen'. Cf. A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSSM 15), Manchester 1991, 44. *GenR* 55:7 gives several etymologies of the word הַמְרִיָּה, הִרְמָה ('teaching'), יִרְאָה ('fear'), מְרִיד ('bring down', i.e., the nations to Gehenna), רִאֵי of the correspondence of the Temple to the heavenly Temple, מִרְ of the myrrh of the Temple and in Song of Songs 4:6. Cf. also Salvesen, *Symmachus*, 44, note 177; M.M. Kasher, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation, Genesis III*, New York 1957, 133.

⁶⁶ E.g., *GenR* 56:10; *BT Pes* 88a; *BT Ber* 62b.

⁶⁷ In one place MT only once reads 'Abraham', whereas *Jubilees* reads it twice (Gen 22:1c = *Jub* 18:1b). Therefore, in fact eight times *Jubilees* does not have the proper name 'Abraham' of Genesis.

of the proper name 'Abraham' occurs only in some LXX manuscripts (cf. Gen 22:3a, 6a, 10a)—in the Peshitta (Gen 22:5a), in EthGen (Gen 22:8a), and some are not attested at all. Furthermore, it is striking that omission of the proper name occurs only before the intervention of the angel of the Lord (*Jub* 18:10 = Gen 22:11). From *Jub* 18:10 onwards, the use of the proper name is identical to MT.⁶⁸

Fourthly, sometimes the author of *Jubilees* omits indications of direction, probably because they are vague or redundant (cf. Gen 22:5c: yonder; 22:9: there). At other times, he specifies the indication of direction. In *Jub* 18:5d 'to that place' is added with regard to Gen 22:6d. It fixes the direction of the departure of Abraham and Isaac. They are not going somewhere (cf. the omission of 'yonder' in *Jub* 18:4d), but to the place of the sacrifice.⁶⁹ In *Jub* 18:8b (cf. Gen 22:9c), the author specifies that the wood is placed 'on the altar'. In connection with this, he rearranges the words of Gen 22:9e ('on the altar, on the wood') in *Jub* 18:8d ('on the wood which was on the altar').

Fifthly, on three occasions the author of *Jubilees* seems to omit duplications of words (compare Gen 22:2d: 'Offer him . . . as a sacrifice' [וְהַעֲלֵהוּ . . . לְעֹלָה] with *Jub* 18:2d: 'Offer him') and phrases (compare Gen 22:4ab: 'Abraham lifted up his eyes and he saw the place . . .' with *Jub* 18:3f: 'And he saw the place . . .'; and Gen 22:8c: 'They went both of them together' [cf. 22:6d] with *Jub* 18:7b [cf.: 18:5d]). Finally, I point out some narrative additions, which have nothing to do with the introduction (cf. *Jub* 18:4a: 'When he reached a well of water'; *Jub* 18:10d: 'He was startled').

4. *Job* 1:1–2:13 an Intermediary between Genesis 22:1–19 and Jubilees 17:15–18:19?

The final question which we have to deal with here, is the one we posed at the beginning of this article: Could *Job* 1:1–2:13 have

⁶⁸ In four cases, *Jubilees* adds 'to him' to the verb 'to say' (*wajebelo*: *Jub* 18:2a, 6e, 10b, 11a; compare MT Gen 22:2a, 7f, 11b, 12a). In some cases, the addition also occurs in Peshitta and EthGen (Gen 22:2a, 7f, 12a). It might be that the addition is not significant, since in some places where MT does have not the personal pronoun (see Gen 22:1c, 7d, 8a, 11c, 16a), it does not occur in *Jubilees* either (see *Jub* 18:1c, 6c, 7a, 10e, 15a).

⁶⁹ See 'place' also in *Jub* 18:7c, 13a.

functioned as intermediary between Gen 22:1–19 and *Jub* 17:15–18:19? Is the author of *Jubilees* influenced in his rewriting of Gen 22:1–19 by the framework story of the book of Job? In order to find an answer to this question, I first compared Gen 22:1–19 with Job 1:1–2:13, and then Gen 22:1–19 with *Jub* 17:15–18:19.

When one compares the differences between *Jub* 17:15–18:19 and Gen 22:1–19 with the framework story of the book of Job, one can point in the first place to the narrative technique by which the reader becomes informed about what is going to happen in the life of the protagonists. Both Job and *Jubilees* make use of a heavenly scene to achieve this goal. In the second place, there is dialogue between God and Satan/Mastema about the virtue of the protagonists. God is absolutely confident about the faithfulness of his hero, whereas Satan/Mastema try to bring this topic up for discussion. This demonic intervention forms the starting point of the unravelling drama, both in Job and *Jubilees*.

However, there are also several differences between *Jubilees* and Job with regard to this heavenly scene. In *Jubilees*, God remains the one who tests Abraham, as he is in Genesis. Although he is challenged by the Prince of Mastema, he remains the sovereign. With regard to the book of Job, it is clear that God puts Job into the hands of Satan. Of course, God imposes restrictions with regard to the activities of Satan (no injury to the body; no death), but Satan is the one who afflicts Job (cf. Job 2:7). Moreover, the verb נִסָּה (to test) which is used in Gen 22:1a, and which is not used in the framework story of the book of Job, is very important for the author of *Jubilees*. In the introduction (*Jub* 17:15–18), the verb *makkara* (to test) is used five times. In addition, it is important for the author of *Jubilees* that God is not ignorant. He shows this also in other parts of his rewriting. All emphasis is put on the fact that the test is to show others, i.e., Mastema (*Jub* 18:9a, 12a) and everyone (*Jub* 18:16cd), that Abraham is faithful to God. God himself knew already that Abraham would be faithful to him.⁷⁰ In the framework story of the book of Job, Satan simply disappears from the stage after the plagues. It is not said that he is put to shame. Finally, the modification of *Jubilees* with regard to Genesis, i.e., the dating of the event of the Aqedah,

⁷⁰ Cf. *Jub* 17:17: 'Now the Lord was aware that Abraham was faithful in every difficulty, which he had told him'. See also *Jub* 18:9e, where the word 'now' is omitted when compared to Gen 22:12e.

does not play a part in Job. Other differences and similarities between *Jubilees* and Job are due to the fact that *Jubilees* is quite a literary rewriting of Genesis. I did not find other indications that the author of *Jubilees* tries to incorporate elements from Job in his rewriting of Gen 22:1–19.

Despite the common narrative technique, there are substantial differences between *Jubilees* and Job. Therefore, I consider it very unlikely that the author of *Jubilees* was influenced directly by the prologue of the book of Job. This part of the Hebrew Bible (the Writings), which was probably not yet concluded in the days of the author of *Jubilees*, does not play an important part in the Book of *Jubilees*, in any case. Moreover, in the literature of this period, the intervening appearance of Satan does occur more often.⁷¹ In addition, Mastema also plays an important part elsewhere in the Book of *Jubilees*. He has an argument with God in *Jub* 10:1–14, and he tries to kill Moses and assist the Egyptians (cf. *Jub* 48:1–19). In this context, the angel of the Presence stood between the Egyptians and Israel (*Jub* 48:13; cf. 18:9).

I think it is more probable that both *Jubilees* and Job are comparable examples of rewritten older material. In the book of Job, the heavenly scenes are commonly considered to be later additions to a basic story, whereas the book of *Jubilees* can be considered to be a later version of Genesis. The difference between Job and *Jubilees*, however, is that Genesis still exists, whereas the original version of Job can only be reconstructed.

⁷¹ Apart from the biblical texts (1 Chron 21:1; Zech 3:1–2), I point to *1 Enoch* 40:7; 65:6; 4Q213 1:17. For the development of the meaning of שָׂטָן in the biblical tradition, see P.L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven. Satan in the Hebrew Bible* (HSM 43; Atlanta 1988). For the Qumran material, see: J. Frey, 'Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library. Reflections on their Background and History', in: M. Bernstein et al. (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (STDJ 23; Leiden 1997), 275–335.

THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations

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